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English Version



Anarchistische symbolen • **Deelstrijd vs totaalstrijd**

Intro

Directe Actie (DA) nr. 25 is now finished and being launched. It was difficult for us to decide which articles we should use. In the year since the last DA so many interesting things took place. Not only the actions of the Anarchist Group Amsterdam (AGA), but also of other groups around the world working on similar issues. However, there are also some topics we wish we had articles about such as the Anarchist Anti-capitalist 1st of May Demo in Amsterdam. In this Demo a critical mass showed up but we were outnumbered by cops who immediately surrounded the demo, beat around people and arrested 26 of us. It was a difficult moment but we will not allow them to intimidate us!

In October 2012 we organized our first -if we may say- successful anarchist film festival. A lot of interested people passed by and the festival offered space to go more in depth in the subjects. The highlight of the event was definitely the concert of Landverraad in the cinema of the Cavia.

Also on the 14th of November in Amsterdam we handed out thousands of leaflets in solidarity with the general strike in Europe, this included a call for resistance in the Netherlands. Not much later the eviction of the Notweg in Osdorp took place, and the squatting of the church to reestablish the action camp. Here anarchists participated in solidarity with the people who were and still are resisting against this rotten system of exclusion and suppression.

At the last moments of 2012 we took presence at the brand new immigrant prison of Schiphol. This prison is a mega deportation centre, where more than a 1000 people can be locked up for an undecided period of time, awaiting their deportation or until they decide to kick them out on the street. At the prison fireworks were lite, we waved and screamed slogans. Also we broadcasted recorded messages from the refugee church, spoken by refugees from several countries. Breaking the silence and isolation of the prison and starting the year in solidarity has now become a tradition of the New Year. This year this demo took place at dozens of prisons all over the world.

In Greece the tension grew again in 2012. Not just because of the prosecution of anarchists by the state, but also more and more because of Neo-Nazi attacks on anarchists and immigrants, often in cooperation with cops. The social tension in Greece is of course related to the financial crisis, which is a crisis of state and capital – but as usual is paid and felt by the common people. This crisis is now hitting all Europe. However, it is mainly in southern countries where repeatedly people took to the streets with a critical mass. It was in Portugal where the biggest riots and demonstrations since the revolution in the seventies took place. For more international news you can read the international chronology, written by our correspondent on riots, uprisings and class-struggle.

Further in this edition you will find other interesting articles such as: an article about our campaign on the Bastion Hotel; an article on tracking down an international conspiracy on anarchist symbols; a fragment from a magazine about the experiences of an activist in foreign detention; a text about the police murder in The Hague; an article about squatting and anarchism.. and much more.

Let's hope the tension in 2013 rises again, not just in the south of Europe but also in the Netherlands and the rest of the world. So we can finally break with the normality of this society and bring down bosses and politicians.

To the streets! For Anarchy!

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Bastion Bastards - an end to the campaign for the time being

After four months of actions against Bastion Hotels we decided to focus on other stuff and stop the Bastion campaign for now. Below follows a short notice about what all happened en which lessons we can learn from it.

By Anarchist Group Amsterdam

It all started with one cleaner at Bastion Hotel who found out that her promised wage per hour came out to be a wage per piece. In stead of being paid for the hours she worked, she got a (small) amount for every cleaned room. Walking from one room to the other, refill the stock, clean a really disgusting room extra good- none of it was counted in the wage. Because of this her hourly wage became half and was far below minimum wage! In the hotel cleaning sector this is very usual and she is for sure not the only one who has this problem. Also it is usually in this sector to offer zero-hour contracts and/or half a year contracts. When you complain or strike you will simply not get more work until your contract finishes.

Campaign

Enough reasons to start a campaign and demand Bastion to pay the unpaid wage of this (ex)cleaner and demand them to start paying their workers by the hour instead of per cleaned room. On the 4th of august we started with an informative action in Amsterdam at the Bastion Hotel Amsterdam Zuidwest. With flyers we informed cleaners and hotel guest about the conflict. Several action groups responded tot the call out for solidarity and like this the actions spread trough the whole country. There were actions in Nijmegen, Breda, Velsen, Tilburg and Düsseldorf.

We send a letter to the board in which we explained the conflict, made our demands clear and demanded a conversation. Our demands were simple: pay the unpaid wages of the cleaner and guarantee the cleaners a normal wage per hour. A very humble and reasonable demand, we thought, but after a short email correspondence we didn't hear anything from Bastion anymore.

So we continued our picketlines. We made seven in Amsterdam and also in other cities pickets were organized. We made posters and pasted them around the different Bastion locations, to make guests, cleaners and neighbors aware of the unfair methods of Bastion Hotels. Besides that we started the 'Bash Bastions Image campaign', an action in which people are incited to give a bad review on hotel booking sites. Besides that several inspiring solidarity actions happened! Unknown people threw paint bombs at the facade of Bastion Amsterdam Centrum, and it appeared an article on Bastion on Wikipedia [1] in which is being explained how Bastion exploits its workers, several pickets were organized and at a couple of Bastion locations in Amsterdam graffiti appeared with the demand for Bastion to stop exploiting its workers.

With the email-address we opened we received several mails from workers of Bastion hotel. From one of the mails: 'Since a short while i work at Bastion Hotel. At the interview it appeared to me that the wage which was supposed to be by hour, actually was per room. Last Sunday i worked (just say toiled) from 11:00 till 16:00 and i could only write down 2 hours and 30 minutes. After that i immediately started searching on the internet for possibilities to tackle this, even by the national inspection SZW. There also i mentioned quickly the underpayment. On the internet i also found your actions, SO GOOD! I would really like to help to tackle this abuses. This is simple exploitation, especially when you look at the 'extra' work you have to do while you are not being paid for it. Gathering the cleaning products, bringing away the linen, throw out the garbage, walking from room to room and floor to floor. I do certainly want to stay working for them because in my situation there is not much choice to work and still pick your children from school. I also really thought that I had good luck with such a job hahaha!'

The action group Doorbraak also spoke to one ex worker: 'At the time I was 19 years old and should've gained 5 euro and something per hour. In practice this was a lot less, because it got set off against the amount of rooms I cleaned. I always got ten minutes to clean a room. If I cleaned 10 rooms, I got payed 1 hour and 40 minutes, even though I worked 3 hours.'

Not for but with the workers

For us this mails were very important to continue our actions. (We even got a sympathetic letter of one Flemish comrade, who returned his client card to the board of Bastion with a critical comment.) However we missed people who were working at Bastion and wanted to carry some part of the campaign. The people who emailed us observed the problem and felt a real indignation, but did not take the step to action. The reasons why they did not take this step are unknown for us but the consequence is that we were not supporting the workers in their actions, but were doing actions for them, while they were not participating. In the beginning this was very different. The person it all started with for us left to her home country.

As AGA we have always wanted to support actions set up by workers by using our infrastructures and experience. The OTTO and Groenflex campaign are two examples of AGA-campaigns which were more successful for that matter. The lack of input by workers of Bastion Hotel group was one of the reasons to stop the campaign. We are comrades, but not caregivers.

In the Bastion-actions sometimes we felt more like the last than the first. With that we do not want to put the reproachful finger at the people who are being exploited at Bastion. We understand how difficult it is to take action if the consequence can be that you lose your income. Also as an anarchist action group we don't have the means and 'reputation' like the unions, which might make it more difficult for people to start actions with us. The ones who did share their stories we want to praise for their courage and thank for their trust. Also all the other who putted their time and effort in this campaign, came to the pickets, made posters, wrote articles, made research and borrowed their stuff we want to thank a lot.

It was very inspiring to see that many people picked up the theme, mainly in the Netherlands but also outside. Workers at Bastion felt supported and showed that. The name of a big capitalist company got smeared. The wikipedia-page about Bastion Hotels almost solely speaks about the conflict. On websites like the one from Anarchist Group Nijmegen, Doorbraak, devrije.nl, nuij.nl, ravotr.nl, anarcho-syndicalisme.nl globalinfo.nl, facebook and socialisme.nu, but also on websites of the usual media like at5 they spread a lot messages about the exploitation by Bastion. Hereby we managed to spread our outrage at the policy of Bastion through the country.

Anarchisme

We managed to relate this outrage with anarchism. Because, without hierarchy it would not be possible to threaten people like they were less than you. Especially because there is a difference in power, it is possible to not share the profit over equals, but give the biggest part to one person. The power aspect is important in the bastion-conflict because at Bastion it is more than wage differences (which we think is also exploitation). Thanks to the difference in power it is possible for Bastion to pay people below the minimum wage without facing juridical consequences. They push people into a (almost) powerless situation by giving them bad contracts and in which people can not even rely on workers rights like the minimum wage and a wage per hour instead of wage per piece, without losing their work and income. That is why workers struggle is also our struggle against power relations. Our way of fighting against this, is by being with many and pressure the ones with power. This is possible by spreading information, strikes, demonstrations, sabotage, etc. As long as we are many, because that's our strength.

A lonely christmas and a sorrowful new year

In the meantime the director of Bastion Hotels, Maik Willems, is still living in his fenced palace in Driebergen at the Engweg 34. We hope he had a lonely christmas there and will face a sorrowful new year. Because somebody who does not grant his workers education for their kids, does not grant them to buy food in a normal way, does not even grant them to go on holidays, somebody who even made a construction to pay his workers less than minimum wage and make with that (in 2011) a profit of almost seven million euro, does not deserve better. And all of that while the profit does not matter to him: 'What my company is worth I do not care about so much. No really, I just really like it. Fun is priceless.' So for now we close the chapter of Bastion Bastards. This does not mean we are done with Bastion Hotels, but we don't have the possibilities and contacts to continue the struggle. But if you are working for Bastion and willing to take action, mail us! aga@agamsterdam.org

Notes:

[1] http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bastion_Hotels.

[2] <http://www.doorbraak.eu/?p=11028>.

International Chronology of actions fourth quarter 2012

China end of september beginning of October 2012

In the night of 23 september a big riot starts on the factory complex of Foxconn in Taiyuan, in the province of Shanxi. In China 1.2 million people work for Foxconn, the company mainly produces for computer brands like HP and Mac. In this factory they were making the new Iphone. The riot started after a fight between workers and security personnel of Foxconn. The thousands of workers live in so called dorms on the terrain of the factory, surrounded by fences, camera's, barbed wire and electronic entrances to keep the mainly very young workers restrained. The scuffle with the security caused an unknown expression of rage and frustration by the workers. Thousands of them break the fences and smash the windows of shops and companies, they put burning barricades on the street, cop cars thrown upside down. 500 riot cops are send there, but they don't manage to calm down the anger, the riots continue until the early morning. The board decides to close the factory for one day, the launch of the Iphone5 was delayed worldwide.

More info on: <http://libcom.org/news/revolts-slaves-%E2%80%93-more-labor-unrest-chinas-foxconn-factories-fall-2012-17102012>

Egypt 23 of november 2012

The new president of Egypt, Morsi from the Muslim brotherhood, made a decree function that gives him extensive power. He tries to put the revolutionary spirit that by then goes trough Egypt for a year already, back in the bottle. In the first hours after the announcement, thousands and thousands take to the streets in all the big cities, the Tahir square in Cairo is occupied again. In Alexandria all offices of the Muslim Brotherhood are attacked, destroyed or put on fire. On 'social media' appears a photo where a furious crowd storms an office of the Muslim brotherhood, from one of the upper windows furniture and documents are thrown from the window, and one the attackers waves a black and red flag. In the following days there are several street fights between followers of the MB and the people who want to defend the revolution, in Cairo Ultra's are joining the revolutionary protesters. The Ultra's are the hooligans of the football club Ahlawy, and had a key position in the fights against the police and Mubarak followers. However, everyday the power of Morsi and his Muslim Brotherhood is increasing, so the future of the Egypt people does not seem so bright. Because of all the revolutionary events in the past two years, it developed a small but active anarchist movement. On this moment 3 anarchists are imprisoned because of their participation in the riots of november 2012.

Below is the website of the Libertarian Socialist Movement:

<http://ismegypt.blogspot.co.uk/>

Bangladesh 24th of November 2012

A fire breaks out at a large textile factory in Bangladesh, in the industrial area Ashulia near Dhaka. 120 workers die burning, or choking by the smoke, more than 100 workers get injured. The emergency exits were closed so people had to jump from the windows of the 9 floors high building. Mostly clothes were made there for the western market like C&A and Wallmart. It is most likely that the fire was ignited by a competitive company or for insurance fraud.

On Monday the 26th of november there is another big fire in a textile factory in the same industrial area Ashulia, no deaths this time luckily. Thousands and thousands of workers spontaneously leave the textile factories as a protest, they put barricades on and with that blockade all access roads to the area. They say 200 factories were not functioning, together the workers (70%percent of the textile workers are female) walk to the ruins of the factory, and remember their fellow workers and protest against the brutal exploitation and for better working conditions.

After an inspection in the burned down factory by an international commission for safety at work they find a text on one of the toilets: "Work here and your life is a living hell."

More info on: <http://libcom.org/news/death-trapped-burning-cage-ashulia-inferno-27112012>

France November till December 2012

Already for more than 30 years there is resistance against a megalomaniac project for a new airport above Nantes, in and area called Notre Dame (des Landes). The resistance that got build is done mainly by farmers and village people, but got support by thousands and thousands of people trough the years. The airport is being build by the multinational Vinci, also known as the building company that builds the highway trough the Khimki forest in Russia (see Directe Actie nr. 23). But they didn't manage to build much jet, dozens of houses that were expropriated by the government were

squatted, several action camps were build, tree occupations, barricaded roads etc. etc. The whole area got declared ZAD (Zone A Defendre) by the occupiers. On the 17th of October 500 riot cops and army tried to evict a part of the area. At one of the evictions, of one house, they shot 250 teargas grenades, the resistance is heavy with burning barricades, slingshots, molotov cocktails and classical throwing stones. In the weekend after a big demo got announced with as goal the re-occupation of the evicted terrains. More than 20.000 people show up to the demo and the police doesn't dare to show up, all evicted areas are occupied again. The struggle has by far not ended, and up till today they call for people to come to the Z.A.D.
<http://zad.nadir.org/>

1st of December, Mexico

On the 1st of december 2012 in Mexico city the new president of Mexico, Enrique Peña Nieto from the PRI was inaugurated, this was accompanied by big military parades and lots of waving flags by the upper class. Thousands of workers, unemployed and students felt different about it and took to the streets en masse. A big demonstration with several black blocks and hundreds of anarchists moved through the city of millions. Once arrived at the Chamber of Deputies where the ceremony was, riots emerged. The riot police had set up huge metal separation walls to let the inauguration happen orderly. Because of the riots that emerged, the riot cops used their whole armory, teargas, water cannons, rubber bullets, shock grenades and of course several skulls were smashed in by their batons. The demonstrators went down to the centre of the city where it is also more buzz. At the Starbucks, 7-eleven, all banks, the ministry of foreign affairs and several luxury hotels including the Hilton, all windows were smashed and the riots continue. The people use everything to defend themselves, stones, street furniture, molotov cocktails. Meanwhile there is a lot of looting by people who can use some extra in the super corrupt Mexico, they don't accept a life at the underside of existence. The day after it comes out that around 69 people were arrested, and lots of people wounded from which 2 were taken into the hospital in a critical state.

At the same moment the media is creating a smear campaign against the anarchists, stating that they are responsible for the riots, and that there is lots of indignation because the national monument got painted with the slogan 'neighborhood - food - autonomy!'

<http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2012/12/04/mexico-city-brief-summary-of-the-december-1st-protests/>

Greece, the 4th of december 2012

In the Greek village Aspropyrgo there was a bomb attack at the office of the fascist party Golden Dawn, it got claimed by the Antifascist Front / Informal Anarchist Federation. The building got heavily damaged, in and outside. In the claim they say they did everything they could to prevent human casualties, which they managed. In the first two weeks of december 2012 offices and meeting of Golden Dawn were attacked by anarchists / antifascists in the following cities and villages: Irakleio, Volos, Xanthi, Agrinio, Aspropyrgos and Alimos.

<http://en.contrainfo.espiv.net/2012/12/09/athens-explosive-attack-at-chrissi-avgi-golden-dawn-offices/>

Germany, 22nd of December 2012

In the German city Mannheim there is a demonstration, organized by the Anarchistischen Netzwerkes Südwest. More than 600 people from the anarchist spectrum participate in the demo which has a theme: "There is no alternative - Kapitalismus abschaffen". It is the second demonstration organized by the Anarchist Network Southwest. It is notable that the anarchism in Germany is more present, which is related to new active anarchist groups in several German cities, including Karlsruhe, Düsseldorf, Freiburg and Frankfurt am Main, many times linked to each other by the "Forum deutschsprachiger Anarchisten (FdA)". In despite of the rain the demonstration stays combative, in the end there is short confrontations with the police, who showed up with many.

<http://a-netz.org/>

<http://fda-ifa.org/>

Anarchist symbols, part 1: the circle A

Us, Anarchists, use a variety of symbols on our clothing, posters and pamphlets. For example the 'circle A', the black flag, the black cat (the one the cover of our magazine) and the black star. From where do these symbols originate and what do they mean? What follows here is part 1 in a series that will explain this: the circled A or 'circle A'

by NC

The 'circle A' is one of the best known symbols of anarchism. Most of us were introduced to this symbol through the punks that popularized it. Though its origins are a lot older.

The letters A and O originate from the first and the last letter from the Greek alphabet, Alpha and Omega. We trace back its very first occurrence in the context of religion, as a symbol representing god and/or Jesus, representing omnipotence and infinity. In which AGLA is mentioned: Atah Giber Le-olam Adonai (Lord, thou are mighty and eternal), in fact a kabalistic symbol. The monogram for AGLA was first published in 1615 in Stephan Michelspachers book *Spiegel der Kunst und Natur*, an alchemist bookwork originating from Augsburg.[1] It isn't much of a surprise that the earliest example of the 'circle A' has such origins. Many of the symbols we know today have been designed ages ago and, mostly, had a whole different meaning to them. Take, for example, the swastika which was used in India for over 4000 years ago, to implore blessings from the gods. Or, less known and therefore more fun, the peace sign. Used during the prosecution of christians, by the Roman emperor Nero (60 a.d.), in attempt to insult them with the broken cross it represented.

As for anarchists, the 'circle A' got its signification when it was used by the Spanish section of the International Workers-Association, the *Asociacion Internacional de Trabajadores* (AIT) also known as the First International. [2] The first International, founded in 1864, was an international covenant of socialists and anarchists. It was its Spanish section that developed the logo, shown below.

This shows a remarkable resemblance with the logo from the freemasons, especially considering the fact that the 'A' doesn't look much like an A. At closer inspection it shows, due to the pendant and arrow in the centre, similarities to a (measuring) instrument. This is an *achipendolo*, a bob, a simple tool used in construction to check if something is straight. In the freemasonry this symbol stands for sincerity and righteousness. [3] They commonly picture the bob within a T-square, which then resembles an A such as seen with the First International.

Several prominent anarchists, such as Michail Bakoenin in 1864, had been freemasons. [4] This was also the year in which the First International was founded and the year its logo was designed in Spain. Though at first the link with freemasonry might seem strange, quite the opposite is true. Bakoenin was a fierce proponent of such secret alliances. For years, anarchists were locked up and convicted to death for printing radical newspapers and having (illegal) meetings. [5] In 1849 Bakoenin himself was banished from France for writing a fierce plea against Russia. In the fifties he had been convicted to death for his participation in the Dresden uprising. This punishment was converted to live imprisonment in Siberia to which he was transported in 1957. Three years later he escaped. [6] It's not much of a miracle he decided to further his activities in clandestinity.

Repression could somewhat be evaded thanks to clandestine groups. In Italy and France, such (clandestine) groups were to be found within the ranks of the freemasons. Bakoenin showed little interest in the freemasons ideas. It would have merely been a cover for his political activities.[7] Besides, he had imagined to make use of their extensive infrastructure. Something which wasn't uncommon in revolutionary circles. Marx and Engels had published their communist manifest from within a similar association, 'the League of the just'. [8]

Why the AIT used freemason symbolism in their logo remains unknown to us. Perhaps because, for those involved, it signified a metaphoric meaning. After two years or so, Bakoenin said farewell to the freemasons. In 1866 he wrote a letter to his friends, Herzen and Ogarev, in which he explained his subtle flirtations with the freemasons: 'I beg you, my friends, not to think that I've ever been seriously involved in freemasonry. It can be used as a disguise or a passport. But to consider serious involvement in freemasonry isn't any better, if not worse, then finding ones joy in a glass of wine'

After that he wrote he'd never mention freemasonry again in their conversations.[9] The First international/AIT and its aforementioned logo existed from 1864 until 1876. It was re-founded in 1922 and has become more known under its English name, the International Workers Association (IWA) which still exists today. Though they have changed their logo. [10] How did it happen that the from 1876 on abandoned logo, after the dissolution of the First International in 1876, found a new home? According to a considerable amount of sources this happened during the Spanish civil war of which apparently there is photographs that show a militia member sporting a circled A on his helmet, though none of the sources proves this point with the actual picture. On top of that the 'circle A', after that, will not occur any-

more for several decades.

Often mentioned is the AOA (Alliance Ouvrière Anarchiste), founded in Brussels in 1956. They supposedly had used the symbol and every source cites this without question.[11] Though proof that they had been using this since 1956 are nowhere to be found. Raymond Beaulaton, secretary of the AOA said it was used in their correspondence. Used as a monogram for their groups name.

What is for sure is that they had published the symbol in *l'Anarchie* from 1968 on.[12] Most likely imitating the French group *Jeunesse Libertaire* which was founded in 1964. After that the group *Circolo Sacco e Vanzetti* from Milan copied the symbol and started spreading it throughout Italy. From them I cannot find any proof of them using this symbol, though I can from another group, also from Milan, *Gioventu Anarchica*, as pictured below.[13] This group had, most likely, used this symbol to represent Proudhon's statement 'Anarchy is order without power', taken from *Confessions of a Revolutionary*. [14]

As mentioned before, the 'circle A' earned its widespread popularity thanks too the punks. The Sex Pistols noticed the symbol in France. Their first single from 1976 was called 'Anarchy in the UK'. Partly due to them the anarchy symbol was incorporated in punk metaphors. A nice batch of anarchism with the Sex Pistols so to say. Sadly enough, they weren't very serious about their anarchist ideas. The pistols flirtations with anarchism were at most a sensational marketing strategy, associating anarchism with chaos and rebellion, fully complying to the mainstream ideas about anarchism. Punkbands such as Crass and the Poison Girls were the first to seriously set forth on the notion of anarchism. [15] After the flirtations from the punks with the 'circle A' symbol it has become a common symbol for anarchism. Partly due to the punks that were in fact seriously involved with anarchism.

From kabbalist symbol to freemason lodges, through Italian anarchist to the Sex pistols and then back to organized anarchist who still use the 'circle A'. The key to the 'circle A's' success lies in its simplicity and immediacy. What also contributes to this is the fact that, in most languages, anarchy starts with an A and therefore becomes internationally recognizable. Where most populist ideas still associate anarchism with chaos and disorder, we know better. Anarchy is Order. Grab your spraycan and make the city a little more beautiful.

Notes:

[1] <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/AGLA>.

[2] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anarchist_symbolism.

[3] <http://www.vrijmetselarij.nl/Default.aspx?tabid=4115>.

[4] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Freemasons, <http://www.anarchymag.org/index.php/currentissue/39-latest-issue/79-reviewbakunin-the-creative-passion>, <http://anarchism.pageabode.com/andrewnflood/michael-bakuninbiography-contribution-modelsanarchist-organization>.

[5] 'Bakunin's idea of revolution & revolutionary organisation', Red & Black Revolution, (Nr. 6, Winter 2002), <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/rbr/rbr6/bakunin.html>.

[6] <http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bakoenin>.

[7] T.R. Ravindranathan, *Bakunin & the Italians* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press,

1988) 24-26: 'In 1845 Bakunin became a freemason, taking membership of the Scottish lodge of the Grand Orient of Paris.'

[8] 'Bakunin's idea of revolution & revolutionary organisation', Red & Black Revolution, (Nr. 6, Winter 2002), <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/rbr/rbr6/bakunin.html>.

[9] Ravindranathan, 26, citeert: Dragomanov, eds., *Pis'ma M.A. Bakunina*, 271.

[10] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Workers_Association#IWA_Today.

[11] <http://recollectionbooks.com/bleed/Encyclopedia/CircleA.htm>.

[12] <http://www.alasbarricadas.org/forums/viewtopic.php?f=19&t=1167&start=0>.

[13] Iain McKay, *The Anarchist FAQ*, (13/17), 2009, 25.

[14] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre-Joseph_Proudhon.

[15] <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anarcho-punk>.

The case of the Barchem 4

On the 25th and 27th 2012 the suspects in the Barchem 4 case had to appear in the court of Rotterdam. The four people who are being suspected of liberating 5000 minks from a mink farm in Barchem had to wait almost 3 years until the preparation for their case was done.

By Supportgroup Vegans Behinds Bars (SVAT)

During the court there was lots of attention for the massive use of investigative tools like tapping of telephones, gps-tracking and physical following. To the questions of the defense and the judge the team leader of the specially formed team of the national police could barely answer, and the legitimacy of the used tools was not substantiated. Right before the court the mink farmer demanded a damage claim of 110.000 euro. Because the mink farmer could not justify the demanded costs, the damage claim will continue in a civil court. Because of several ambiguities concerning tools used by the police, the judge decided to postpone the court until january/february 2013, awaiting some documents from the national police. Lots of organizations and individuals worldwide showed their support for the Barchem 4 with solidarity statements, benefits, animal liberation and sabotage.

You can read more about the Barchem 4 at www.svat.nl/barchem4/

Some solidarity actions:

21/09/12 'In the past weekend 26 turkeys were liberated from a farm in the southwest of england; from now on they will be able to live their life in peace. This action is in solidarity with our comrades from the Barchem-4 case. Until all are free.'

06/12/09 Noise bombs at the Dutch embassy (Chili). The anonymous communique:

"On the evening of Wednesday, December 2nd we wanted to make a gesture of solidarity with the 'international call for action for the release of activists imprisoned in the Netherlands.' Our action consisted of putting three noise bombs in the building housing the Dutch embassy in Chile, located on Apoquindo street, in Las Condes.

One of the imprisoned comrades in the Netherlands was arrested on October 29 and the other on November 17; both are accused of releasing about 5,000 mink from a fur farm and for substantial damage to the extermination center.

With this action we take the opportunity to send them much strength and affection, because in the struggle against speciesism, they are not alone.

With the explosions carried out last night we also shook the false peace of one of the most affluent suburbs of Santiago, where many of those responsible for exploitation (in all its forms) sleep.

The loud noise of the bombs was heard more than 3 blocks around which left no one unaffected.

To fight until the freedom of all prisoners is achieved!

The actions will continue ...

For human, animal and earth liberation, now!

Dieren Bevrijdings Front

(Frente de Liberación Animal in Dutch)"

Statement from some of the 'Barchem 4' defendants

These words are for every one of us who has ever felt helpless against an enemy a thousand times larger than yourself. In the last years the repression against every liberation struggle has increased. In different countries the attention of the authorities has focused on different movements, but the substance remains the same: state and governments protect the abusers, not the abused. They protect the perpetrators, not the victims. They protect those who rape, kill and enslave. Not those who challenge the very existence of the cages. To do this, they are using new laws, special police units, more and better surveillance techniques.

In this recent case against the animal liberation movement, those who write have been accused of a crime: to allegedly have set free almost 5000 minks from their cages, where they would have lived a life of fear, distress and confinement before being killed and made into fur coats, at a fur farm in the dutch village of Barchem.

For this reason we will face trial the 25th and 27th of September in Holland. We'll not spend more words on this specific event, considering that the trial is yet to come, but we'd like to offer our perspective to the movement, about what repression is doing, about what repression really means to us.

Repression needs to be dealt with head on. It needs to be expected, we need to be prepared and ready to accept the consequences of challenging the actual state of things. Without this awareness we are going to live our lives in fear and not fight in any kind of effective way. Repression is born out of effectiveness. Every action has a reaction, that is why governments and police step in to stop effective ways of achieving our aims. If we were being ineffective, then nothing would be done to stop us because the authorities would not care.

We need to accept the idea of repression, if what we want is to create a struggle that will make any kind of change. Repression and effective change are basically two sides of the same coin. The worst reaction to repression is for us to run scared. This gives repression its power. We as a movement choose how we react to repression, and whether we can allow it to affect us or not. Continuing with the campaigns they try to stop is the absolute best way to challenge and fight repression. Come back harder, better, more organized, stronger, and more prepared. Expect and deal with repression in order to lower the impact when it happens. Learn from each others mistakes and empower our strategies. Otherwise, we leave the authorities with a blueprint that they can use to trample out any other kind of dissent, in any other kind of movement.

This is the way they work: they hit one of us to teach a thousand. This is the very aim of arrests and house raids, of isolation and imprisonment. It's their best weapon: to instill the fear in our heads to make us harmless, to make us silent. For this reason, while we face this trial we'd like everyone to remember that we, too, have our weapon. Is a weapon stronger than theirs because is built on compassion and rage, it's based on dedication and sincerity between people who share the same sense of urgency: it's called solidarity.

Solidarity means supporting each other in times of need, but also fighting back, not letting the fear win over our lives or stop us being effective. It means coming together as a movement, with all our strengths, skills, and abilities. And ultimately, coming together through our shared aim; ending the ruthless exploitation of our fellow living beings and of the planet that host us all.

Solidarity is the key to keep every struggle alive and to create a movement that they'll never be able to break.

Because no one is free, until ALL are free.

- Some defendants in the "Barchem 4" case.

Tattoo Circus Berlin

It was something new to me, but the concept exists since 2007: The tattoo Circus. As a part of the benefit festival for prisoners some tattoo and piercing artists come together. The visitors of the festival can get tattooed or pierced for a (sometimes agreed in advance) donation. This is how money gets collected with which prisoners and people who are being prosecuted can be supported in different ways.

by Maartje

Over the past years several Tatoo Circus-festivals took place, for instance in Rome, Barcelona, Madrid, Zaragoza, London and Thessaloniki. These festivals are not necessarily connected; everyone can use the concept in their own way. From the 7th until the 9th of September, a Tattoo Circus took place in Bethanien, Berlin-Kreuzberg*. Different individuals that, in one way or the other, are busy with struggle against repression took the initiative for it. Besides the tattoo and piercing part of the festival there was a broad program with movies, documentaries, performances, workshops and discussions. There was food arranged every day and there was a tent with coffee, cakes and benefit T-shirts and patches.

From 11 o'clock in the morning on people could subscribe for a tattoo or a piercing. Not long after that you could hear the first machines humming and the smell of disinfectant mingled with a bit of cold sweat would spread through the corridors.

It was especially busy on Friday morning, everyone jostled around the tables with portfolios, sketchbooks and laptops with photo shows. These tables were in front of the entrances to the rooms were, from a hygienic point of view, the tattoo and piercing artists were working more or less curtained off. Behind the tables were the people that were planning the appointments and received the donations. People were asked in the announcement flyer to bring their designs, so that the tattooists would not have to work on the designs for very long.

The tattooists (anarchists) came from all different corners of Europe. With the tattoo circus they can give a useful contribution in solidarity with imprisoned comrades and the struggle against repression with their work. The only condition to participate was to accept the set hygiene standard. Around 15 tattooists were working throughout the whole weekend, from early afternoon until around ten o'clock in the evening.

There was a wide variety of performances. More than half of them were related to the circus theme, like comedy, fire shows, juggling acts and freak shows (e.g. extreme body performances). Furthermore there were dance performances, music, bondage and theater. On Saturday evening bands were playing in the Rauchhaus.

The focus of the workshops and discussions was anti repression. Differing from discussions on anarchist visions on punishment to information on individual prisoners and workshops on lock-picking and the privatization of prisons. The movie program gave a selection of different movies and documentaries. They showed a movie on Russian prison tattoos and there was a presentation by a group that specifically focuses on the situation of women in prisons.

The name Tattoo Circus might give you the idea that tattoos are the main issue of the festival, but for the people organizing it is not predominate: "It is absolutely not an alternative tattoo convention, but in the first place an anti-repression festival". Saturday was the busiest day of the festival, around 400 people were visiting.

The money that was made was donated to different anti-repression groups, of which most were anarchist, but not per se. We are looking back upon a super nice weekend, a well organized festival with a lot of interesting and different things to do and see. With which donations were collected in a refreshing way, one that brings grist to the mill. Possibly an inspiration for the next benefit, in which, for example, alcohol does not need to serve as a source of income...

Note:

Bethanien is a formal hospital complex on Mariannenplatz. The different parts of the building, of which some were squatted, host e.g. living groups, art projects, social security's, autonomous initiatives and concert venues. Check out: www.newyork.net.

Totalstruggle VS single issue-struggle, two views

On the next pages you will find two discussion texts on a topic which is more often being discussed recently: single issue-struggles versus 'total-struggle'(totaalstrijd, a Dutch term), and everything in between. The theories of the writers about a free world come out not to be so different, but the ideas about the practice and strategies we should use are. The question is how much topics u can address at once, and what is actually effective.

1. Totally lost the track

By Gup

The term total struggle i heard several times in the last ten years. The associations i have with it are not so nice. When people told me that 'from now on they would focus on totalstruggle' i knew i was not going to see them on actions a lot, but more in the squattingbar. More relevant for this article is the use of this term by the Internationale Socialisten (IS), but i don't want to focus on them.

Since a couple of years people in my surrounding are using the term 'totalstruggle' again. These are people who are not members of the IS, but are also not planning to continue their progressive struggle at the bar. What do these people mean with Totalstruggle? Our comrades of the IS say we have to win the totalstruggle and then all problems will disappear. With totalstruggle they mean the struggle against capitalism, and with this the conflict between workers and factory owners. When the workers will take power, paradise will come down to earth, Marx will be law, and environment, animal abuse, racism and the suppression of women will be history. That's why its nonsense to now fight any another struggle then the one of the workers.

Of course you can think of more material versions of totalstruggle. Maybe some anarchists just want to say like this that al problems are being caused by capitalism and/or the state. So to change something you have to fight also the state and capitalism. Totalstruggle is in this case used to say that in a single issue struggle you should refer to the totalstruggle, meaning the struggle against state and capital.

In opposite of this are the anarchists who are ok with just participating in single-issue struggles. This people consider the anarchist struggle as a collection of single-issue struggles. The single-issue struggles in that point of view, have in the long-term anarchy as the goal, so they will not use parliamentary politics or other non-anarchist means. But in the short term they will not always include the fight against state and capital. [1]

Initially this is about the analysis of the world: what causes the problems we want to fight? The communists are clear about this: capitalism is the only problem. For me it is not so clear where most totalstruggle-anarchists position their selves. Especially the newest hype, insurrectionalism, supplies us with sometimes very communist quotes. Personally I think much more is wrong with the world than exploited workers and repressive cops; direct effects caused by the state and capitalism.

For that matter I am in favour of a totalstruggle, not just for the workers and civilians, but also for gays, migrants, women, queers, animals, environment, lonely elderly, hyperactive kids and so on. I think currently a lot of anarchists are also in favour of totalstruggle and we exactly separate ourselves from the communists by acknowledging this broader struggle. So I have a very broad idea on anarchism. Anarchism is for me an attempt to create a world in which you work together and not exploit each other. A world in which you have the power over your own life and you shape your surrounding in consideration with your fellows. And where it doesn't matter which colour you are, which gender or with whom you make love. Anarchism is also to aim for a world with a clean environment and where animals don't get killed. And of course there is hundreds of things I would like to see different in a better world. All these things for me are a part of anarchism because I think they are related. That is why for now I assume anarchists do not believe that the struggle against state and capital is not the only relevant struggle.

If we agree on this concept of anarchism, the question will be how to achieve it. What is our tactic to get to a beautiful world? Because change automatically means conflict with the people who are profiting from the current situation, you need masses of people who also have interest in an anarchist change. That mass needs to be big enough to win the conflict, for example by being uncontrollable for the state. So we need an enormous group of people.

Tactically I think its good to show the ever increasing group of revolutionary soldiers the relation between the various struggles. Because like that you strengthen each other and you make the revolutionary effect of your recruitment much bigger. So lets elaborate on the necessity of relating the various struggles. What is your tactic to show as much as people possible these relations?

Option 1: Directly tell people all the relations. I don't know any examples of anarchists who try this and I'm pleased with that. Imagine we go to a nice village square and start talking about the relations between the meat industry, homophobia, sexism, racism, G8 and about an other 100 topics. Somebody might agree to one of the topics, but drops out at the next topic.

Option 2: Take a selection of topics and show the relation between them. I do know examples of such a combined single-issue struggle. For example at the 1st of may-demo's they link between a couple of topics, for example anti repression and anti-tax administration. While still difficult, the chances for success with such combined single-issue struggles increases a lot.

Option 3: You pick one topic, and tell only at a later moment, when somebody is interested, about more topics. At this option you have the biggest chance that you can actually find connections, because you don't have to agree on so much to understand each other.

This is the moment where we should get into the psyche of the revolutionary class for a bit. Psychiatrist assume that everybody will only accept a limited amount of new ideas and thoughts when they get confronted with them. The group of ideas you accept, has as a middle point your identity, so the image you have of yourself. Around that middle point floats the thoughts you are to accept, this is called 'the circle of acceptation'. The further away from your identity, the more difficult you will accept a certain thought. Thoughts that are outside of that circle, you won't accept.

An example:

When a man comes up to you and starts talking about the resurrection of Jesus, in a good mood you will curse him for being a strange fool. When this Christian-dog starts talking to you at the refugee camp in Osdorp, you will stay to listen. The man tells you that he is helping in the refugee camp and asks you to also come and help. Chances are that you will come to help and during the building of the tents the Christian-dog will tell you he is a Christian. It is unlikely that now you will tell him that he is a homophobic sexist, even though he is.

We, like the Christians, want to win souls, but we have a rational theory and more praiseworthy goals. In despite of this pre, lots of people will initially disapprove our values. Go to the streets and ask the people if they want to abolish the state. Almost everybody will tell you that that is not possible. Especially when you are into totalstruggle like me, and also start talking about capitalism, veganism, free love, environment... The people will say you are crazy! When you take to the streets on the other hand, and solely speak about police repression you will get into contact with people. They will show interest and give their email addresses. With some of them you will start doing things together and the chance is big that people will start sharing your ideas, maybe they even become vegan!

Of course this is an open door. Almost everybody in the anarchist movement joined it for their interest in a certain topic. In the last years for example you saw a lot of people joining via the animal rights group Respect voor Dieren, before that it was the squatting movement or the punk-scene. That's why I think its a tactical misstep to discuss several topics in your first contact.

Concluding you could say that the term totalstruggle doesn't add a lot to discussions in anarchist circles. By definition anarchists want to abolish state and capital, so we don't have to talk more about that. A more sensible discussion would be about the tactics we use to achieve our goals.

2.Totalstruggle: literally and continuous

By Naima

Lets start with defining what totalstruggle means for me. Totalstruggle is the acknowledgement of a world based on suppression and exploitation, and the necessity of stopping the existence of all different forms of that. That means that the class struggle for example is not just a struggle from poor against rich, but also from prisoners against guards, women against the patriarchy, or even more complicated, from animals against their cages. Besides that, for me, so not by definition, insurrectional influences are of importance, think about the critics on unions and federations based on political programs. Like this the focus would be on informal organisation, the (permanent) attack, the participation in (class) conflicts and the refusal to negotiate with class enemies.

Also in the moments there is no direct confrontation it's important to start acting. There is anarchists who let their selves be exploited at work, like their actions are their hobby and their thoughts are without consequences. Thus I'm never afraid to discuss my veganism again with comrades. It also exists anarchists who sacrifice their selves to liberate the world, but expose their selves as martyrs so much that they can enjoy only very few of it. And like this it can happen that people send out soulless manifests into the world, because they are only thinking about what the 'normal people' think of them.

My experience is that people understand you much better when you are honest about what you want, and also they are not so surprised when you speak about for example attacking a bank or a cop in riot uniform. Moreover, most people on the street would also like to do that. The state and the companies are not so beloved like the media want us to believe. Lots of people don't stay updated about what going on in the world by the news, but much more by conversations in their social network. That's why it's a thousand times more important to be present in the street than to send out a press release (usually fit to their standards).

Of course you don't talk about all world problems and the destruction of that every time you meet somebody on the street. But it is necessary to emphasize the relations between the conflicts. The people in the immigrant prisons wouldn't be there if the economical forces wouldn't have an interest in that, regardless which political party is in power in that moment. The meat industry wouldn't exist if there would be no sick consuming market. The police wouldn't beat people up, or just shoot them, if they didn't have a system to protect. As long as we say that the illegalized are so piteous because they are imprisoned but they didn't do anything wrong, we can not express an honest critic on prisons in general. It comes down to that everything in this world that blocks a free life, has to be destroyed. Because we and everybody will not be free as long as the structures of cages and cells, working- and welfare offices still exist.

Now I know you are wondering, how are we going to get there. When 3 options are presented about how to approach people, or roadmaps for a successful campaign, I instantly get an allergic reaction. Because the world can not be caught in roadmaps or options. Prognoses, company plans and campaigns are exactly destroying this world. We should focus on chaos. And I don't mean the chaos as in every man for himself, or everybody against everybody. I mean the chaos of solidarity, compassion, responsibility and capacity to these things- for that no mathematics exist. Because everybody needs different things, and everybody has skills for different things. That's why for sure I don't believe in a roadmap or a campaign for a social revolution. It has to come from the people themselves. I also don't want to win souls. A lot of people are so screwed up that I do not want at all to convince them.

I could not care less if that stupid yuppie became vegan. I don't care if people keep up with comfortable leftist ideas to be able to read the newspaper without feeling too much guilt. Because the decision to become vegan, strange as it may sound, is not such a drastic decision. And also not of much influence, even though it prevents the murder on an X amount of animals. The decision to throw a stone at the cops who are defending a mink farmer is much more interesting, because it actually opens doors in the direction of an uprising which is enduring and complete. If everybody becomes vegan and goes shopping at the organic shop, we didn't progress much. Even not when everybody votes for the Green Leftist and participates in the (squatted) neighbourhood garden. And that is because these are things that can function peacefully within the system. Things that the system, actually, can use to stay existing. Something like 'hugging-Moroccans' (knuffelmarrokanen, a Dutch term for 'well integrated' or social functional Moroccans to sort of excuse their existence): excuse-vegans. And it doesn't just excuse the system, it pacifies the people as well. Every idea of freedom, of anarchy, means a total break with the current society.

But how do you achieve that, that somebody just like that makes something that actually bothers 'the system'? I think it would be mainly by inspiring, and dull said, by giving the good example. Also we usually need a loose cannon that takes the first step, once the pushing and pulling started many more participate. And once the first window broke in a thousand pieces, the rest breaks as well. I honestly believe a lot of people get turned off by a leaflet with a specific, delineated story about a specific struggle, because they can not feel it directly. Are we subsequently back at the old 'first liberate yourself before you start the rest'? I'm not sure, but I do believe that by applying the inner-process of (single issue)struggle at my own life, I became much stronger. And especially stronger in my will to do stuff, to attack. A strategy is necessary to shape our ideas, but can never become a blueprint. Like revolutionary writings should never be treated like bibles. We have to maintain observing our approach critically, but not fall down in structured planning, because I think that feelings about what's good and important, should be weightier than a purely rational tactic. Precisely because this world is built on systematics and cogs, we have to avoid them.

A lot of big words. I will return to the beginning for a bit. Single issue-struggle will, by the limited nature of it, keep us usually from having a general vision on what's wrong. Therewith it will keep us from destroying what destroys us. And once you get deep enough in one specific topic, you will automatically become a Jehovah-witness of antifacism, veganism, feminism or eventually anarchism. And Jehovah-witnesses approach others like stupid, non educated, victims or just not set free of their sins. I don't want to approach anyone like that, and I also don't want to see myself as eminent or avant guard.

The critics one single issue-struggle is definitely a tactical discussion. A lot of people are convinced that single issue-struggle in the Netherlands was born from the Poldermodel (Dutch term to describe the consensus-based economic and social policy making, a model where unions and bosses for example prefer to negotiate than to conflict. It's said that this model sort of died out, but leftist groups are still strongly influenced by it), with its institutionalized action groups and subsidized lobby's. They exist to offer the system legitimacy. Discrimination? We have an office for it. Animal abuse? Call the animal protection. I'm aiming again at the danger of a harmonious existence within 'the system', while the repressive

forces of the state in this moment are heavily striking and the numbing of the modern human keeps on becoming more perfect and more complete by new technologies. So you shouldn't organize to become a new platform or institution, but to arrange practical stuff and create the possibilities to meet each other, inform and discuss.

The point is to keep on preparing yourself for a social revolution, and in the meanwhile revolt where you can.

Anon: 'Revolt needs everything: paper and books, weapons and explosives, reflection and cursing, poison, daggers and arson.'

3.Reaction of Gup to Naima

In the wooly text of Naima, it is difficult to find out to what in my text she is responding. I will try to describe in what our opinions differ, but forgive me when I forget something.

Naima says that when you talk to somebody on the street, you should emphasize the relations between conflicts. As an example she gives the relation between capitalism and the meat industry. Of course I don't argue the relation between capitalism and the meat industry, but I am not on the streets to be right, but to achieve my goals. Now unfortunately my goal is some more radical than to take the sharp sides of capitalism. I don't want to destroy the meat industry, but the whole idea that animals are worth less than human animals. For that it will not help me to get capitalism involved. Because in the long term I do also want to get rid of capitalism, it is possibly good after longer contact to explain this. When I will make a campaign to finally overthrow capitalism and I would use the meat industry as the motive, I might refer to capitalism.

Naima says she responds allergic to my division of options and roadmaps. That must be quite annoying in a discussion. I believe I didn't say everybody has the same needs or should do the same, a tactic has many methods, like you can read in my roadmap. Furthermore I don't have imaginations of a 'solidarious chaos', but I assume it comes from the misunderstanding that when there is no state there will be chaos. I actually think state and capital are causing chaos in a society by individualization and production without need. This points looks like deepening the post-modern critics on rationality. I studied philosophy to short to understand this, but I can not imagine that because of the promptness of the trains to Auschwitz, we can not say anything rational anymore.

More interesting I think is Naima's point about winning souls. I see two options (aaah, your allergy, sorry!). If you do not want to win souls, you end up with the nihilism, because moral believes usually create a social wish. You act morally in the hope that everybody is. So if you want to convince nobody, you almost have to become a nihilist, like some anarchists actually do. Naima though indicates that she wants to give the good example. This kind of avant guard ideas do seem to show a wish to win souls.

The only thing to try to agree on here is the word 'souls'. Actually I don't want to win souls, but bodies. I would like that the bodies of people don't suppress anything or anybody anymore. In the end its mainly a material matter, not ideological. I don't want people to believe that imprisonment is wrong, but that they break the prison walls and animal cages. On the other hand ideology is of importance for the long-term goals. Nazi's, capitalists and Christians materially do anarchist stuff, but don't aspire freedom for everybody. That's why tactically it is of importance that the arguments you use to win bodies, are compatible with your long-term goals.

Naima seems to want to make the point that veganism is compatible with the system, but throwing a stones to the cops is not. These are difficult matters to compare. Because veganism is a description of a little piece of anarchism, while throwing a stone is a method to gain freedom. I heard more often people who thought that the recuperation of anarchist initiatives by state or capital meant that the initiative was not right. I don't think so. Veganism is the struggle against the exploitation of animals and with that its not compatible. Only this makes it already a good idea to stimulate veganism. Now for example slaughter VION makes meat substitutes. But even that means just that you have to open more fronts, not that the whole war is useless. If I would see veganism as a way to fight capitalism, I would focus for example on people who are vegan already and explain them why VION is making this meat substitutes.

[1] For more info on short- and long-term goals, read 'succesvol actievoeren in 7 stappen' that appeared in the former *Directe Actie!* Or write a mail to gup@riseup.net.

My Promise

This is an excerpt from the zine *Still People* that tells about one activist's time in foreign detention here in the Netherlands.

by Oona

On July 5th 2011 roughly a hundred fifty people were arrested for refusing to follow a police order at the demonstration held at the eviction of the squat 'Schijnheilig' in Amsterdam. It was one of the largest mass arrests ever made in the Netherlands. All of the arrestees who could or would not produce an identity card at the police station were put into custody of the foreign police. During the following week most of the arrestees showed their ID's and were released. Eight of them were transferred to the (euphemistically called) 'detention centers' of Zaandam and Rotterdam Zestienhoven, where they were imprisoned for up to two months.

The zine *Still People* is a personal account of her experiences in foreign detention, both in Rotterdam Zestienhoven and of a previous experience with foreign detention elsewhere. The zine, illustrated by Helena Sanders, can be bought at the bookshop 'Het Fort van Sjakoo.'*

My promise

We stand outside in the cage smoking cigarettes. It's raining and the sky's so gray it could be just another concrete wall. Next to me stands a big woman with a big smile. She lights a second cigarette, cupping her hand to protect the flame, and we continue our conversation. We've talked quite a lot the last days, mostly of sad things. I've told her that I'm leaving soon, that my passport will be brought and then I'll be out. 'Tell people about this.' She has nine children and a staying permit in Ireland. For months she's been waiting to get deported back there to be with her children, the youngest one of them not yet a year old. 'Tell people about this.' And I promise.

This is where the children are (I)

Two girls, maybe eight or nine years old, chase each other down the hallway. I stand there in the entrance with my bag of clothes and stare at them. I have just arrived to Rotterdam and there are children in this place. 'This is where the married women are,' the guard behind me says. She points to the cells on the right side of the hallway. On the doors there are grainy black-and-white mug shots of women. Some of them hold children, the small faces of babies made almost unrecognizable by the bad printing. There are eighteen cells in this section, each fitting two people. Some of the cells have a connecting door between them so if a whole family has ended up here together they get to share a space: spouses with each other, their small children in foldable travel beds in the adjoining cell. Like some twisted version of a hotel family room. 'And this is where the children are.' The guard points to a small, dull room on the other side of the hallway. There are some toys and stuffed animals, a gaming console. During the time I spend there I will never see the children play in that room, never see them hold a toy. A woman comes out of one of the cells, holding a baby. She hands the baby to the guard and disappears back in to the cell. 'Mommy goes to take a shower,' the guard coos to the baby and the baby smiles. The baby is five months old. He was born in the Netherlands and is now here waiting to be deported together with his Suriname-born mother. By next week they'll be gone.

This is where the children are (II)

The two little girls sit around a low table and play board games with three of the guards. They all roll dice and laugh loudly, the guards and the children about to be deported. Most of the girls' time is spent in the common room with the adults. Sometimes they listen to the stories of all these weathered women; sometimes they play with the baby. And sometimes they just sit there. I never see them go outside. The brown-eyed girl wins the game and runs to her mother, tugs her sleeve. They arrived here from Iran when the girl was just a baby. They lived somewhere in Limburg until some months ago when they came to visit Rotterdam, were stopped on the street and asked for passports. And this is where they ended up in. The girl whispers something in her mother's ear. I know it's Dutch she's speaking. Her mother has an accent. The girl does not.

Cellular

Four of the cells in this section stay locked all day. On the doors there are photos of the men who spend their days inside those small rooms, and next to the photos there are orange pieces of paper. Cellular, the papers say. And it has nothing to do with cell phones. 'It means they get punishment,' explains a young female guard. She tries to explain the rules to us newcomers, searching for the right English words. The length of the punishment depends on what you have done, she says. 'If you try to kill yourself, you get long punishment.' It would almost be funny if it weren't so fucking tragic. So

perfectly it describes this place, this and every other place like this one: you will be punished for being in pain. Suffering will get you cellular.

Tickets (II)

Some mornings the cell doors don't open. Occasionally I wake up to it: the guards moving in the hallway, opening hatches in the doors, talking. Slow shuffling steps passing by my cell. But the doors don't get unlocked like they usually do. The breakfast gets brought but we don't get out. It's only later that the doors get opened. And we notice it immediately: some photos have been removed from cell doors.

Door handles

I think I talk the whole way home. I am not sure, the drive seems absurd: the motorway and the moving. The car pulls up in front of our house and I get out slowly. All of a sudden I am back here again and it feels like it's been ages, even though it hasn't. I expected to be happy but I'm not: it's a different reality and it feels almost incomprehensible. I wait outside the door until my partner opens it and lets me in. Up two flights of stairs and I stop in front of the living room door. My partner comes up behind me. 'What's wrong?' he asks, leans on the door handle and pushed the door open. Oh, right. So casually one opens doors here. I have grown used to not opening and closing anything myself. To walking between two guards whenever being taken somewhere, one of them buzzing a door open in front of me and the other one closing it behind me. So used to it that I have all but forgotten how to use door handles. So quick is the process of institutionalization. And it continues: for several days I will find myself preferring instant coffee to an espresso. Two sugars and two creamers, please. It tastes like chemicals and cardboard, like long nights of Discovery Channel. Like familiar things left behind.

In the end

Later on, people ask me about foreign detention. At bars, at voku's, on the street they all ask the same thing: what was the hardest part? What was the most painful thing? Was it the bad food? Was it the guards, was it being locked up? And I repeat no, no, it was none of those things. In the end it all comes down to this: I couldn't explain myself to the people I met. The situation accentuated our differences and I could not get to know the people – who they really were behind their numbers, behind the destinations written in their files, the destinations that defined them there. Or maybe I didn't try hard enough. It felt so damn difficult. Like a library of sad books, books you know you should read but can't even bring yourself to open because they are so heavy with emotion. You almost don't want get to the details. It would tear your heart apart. I wished so hard I could explain myself. I wished so hard I could help. But I couldn't. And that was the most painful thing.

** Or read in its entirety at the ABC Amsterdam website: <http://abcamsterdam.wordpress.com/teksten/still-people/>.*

Khimki-activist in Spanish cell

Pjotr Silayev, a Russian anti-fascist/environment-activist with a Finnish refugee status, is still being locked up in Spain. Pjotr is being seen by the Russian authorities as the mastermind for the actions concerning the Khimki-forest, about which we spoke already in the Directe Actie from 2 years ago. Pjotr asked for political asylum in Finland, but quickly after it became clear that the Russian state was trying to prosecute him again.

By Dennis

On the 21st of august 2012 Pjotr Silayev was arrested in Granada, based on an arrest warrant of Interpol, send out by Russia. The Spanish Audiencia Nacional (national court) imposed a travel ban up on him, awaiting a revision of the Russian extradition request. Previously officials of the Finnish embassy in Madrid ensured him that he would for sure not be extradited to Russia and that Pjotr would be released.

The Finnish embassy provided the Spanish authorities with all the necessary documents, which prove that Finland offers Pjotr international protection and permanent asylum. The Spanish authorities though refuse to release him or even respond to questions of his lawyer about the current state of his imprisonment. According to Pjotr's lawyer an extradition procedure can take up to one and a half years, and the final decision is by the Spanish government.

In October 2012 a Finnish solidarity group, the Free Pit Network, wrote a petition demanding the immediate release of Pjotr. The petition that was handed over to the Spanish embassy in Helsinki, noted that the Refugee Convention of the UNHCR underlines that not one member-state can extradite a refugee to a country where his or her life or freedom is threatened. Esko Repo, head of the asylum-department of the Finnish immigration service, pointed out that all EU-countries swore to follow this extradition forbid.

According to the Russian human right activist Oksana Chelysheva the impasse of Pjotr in Spain a dangerous precedent for the safety of political refugees in EU-countries. Referring to recent cases of asylum-seekers which got kidnapped in Ukraine en extradited to Russia, and cases in which political refugees from Central-Asian autocracies were kidnapped in Russia and secretly brought to their home countries, Chelysheva expressed her concerns about the fact that such extra judicial practises may also occur in the EU if there will not be interfered.

The Free Pit Network urged that the sympathizers of Pjotr should not stop the campaigns for his release and continue pressuring the Spanish state to set him free. Pjotr has stated that he almost lost hope to leave Spain and that up till now the Audiencia Nacional ignored all petitions by his lawyer. Spain appears to keep Pjotr arbitrary, while according to the Finnish embassy they could only keep him for forty days. Now, December 2012 and four months later, Pjotr is still locked up in Spain. It appears that the Audiencia Nacional finally started the case, but it is being very difficult as the national court has a research because of corruption scandals against itself going on.

Murder by the cops in The Hague

On Saturday 24th of November 2012, at 6:30 17year old Rishi Chandrikasing was shot dead by a cop in Spoor trainstation in Hague.

By anonymous anarchists

Cops stated that they received an anonymous call about a man carrying a gun and threatening people in the station. When they reached the spot they recognised Rishi as that man, they ordered him to raise his hands but, according to the statement, he moved them towards his waist, and then they shot him in the neck causing his death.

Only on Monday and only after several witnesses stated that Rishi was unarmed they admitted that they didn't find a gun near him or somewhere in the train station. On Sunday afternoon, (a day after the murder,) a silent march of 300 to 350 people took place for his death and it reached the spot where he was murdered. The people placed flowers and candles and wrote slogans on the walls of the station. One of the slogans was "the cop will die, I promise" and the head of the police stated that "such statements cross the line". For the police writing on a wall that you will kill someone crosses the line, when a cop actually does it it's ok.

On Saturday 1/12 a protest of more than 300 people took place in Hague and on Monday 3/12 the employees cleaned every single sign of the murder in the station. Friends and family called again for a new gathering at the spot so they could again leave some flowers and candles. The meeting was set on Sunday 9/12.

The people that corresponded at this call, witnessed the numerous cops and trainstation security guards controlling every corner of the station. Many of Rishi's friends were scared and left. At platform No 4 more cops were waiting for us. Finally we gathered around 40 people. The trainstation service called Rishi's parents and threatened them that if the people wouldn't leave immediately they wouldn't let them place the memorial board as they promised. Some of his friends and family started negotiating with the security guards, while some others refused to move from the spot no matter how many cheap threats they receive, stating that this was the least they did for Rishi's death. Finally the security said we could stay until 17:00. the time was passing and conflicts began between Rishi's friends. Half of them tried to push people out, while the rest refused to leave. In this weird situation, the comrades that we were there tried to discuss what our next move would be. Finally we decided to stay with the people who wanted to give their own battle with forgetfulness, while the cops were getting closer. Now, for the rest of the friends and family, that accused us that we didn't even know Rishi, while they were shaking hands with the security guards, we have to say to them that state assassinations should be confronted with dignity and not by sucking the states minions.

At 18:00 the police attacked in front of the surprised passengers and they were taking us one by one. The place is totally controlled and the action seemed simple, so none of us thought that it would end like this, so the only things we had to defend our selves were our hands and legs.

Some of our comrades were cut off from the rest of the group and moved to the opposite platform trying to awake the rest of the people. An unpleasant surprise was waiting for them there. Most of the people expressed their trust for the police while some of them said that "Rishi was a "bad boy" that's why this happened". When someone asked a passenger with a camera for the footage with the rest of us getting beaten up, he refused to give it because as he said it would be used against the police. Some others stated that police was only doing their job. These last ones were right. The job of the cops all over the world is this, they create suspects, they judge and shoot at will.

Rishi was a second generation immigrant as many of his friends that got arrested that day. In the police station the cops did not forget to remind them that if they didn't like it here they could go back to their homelands, proving one more time that pigs, globally, have another thing in common, racial hatred.

Even if we respected the will of Rishi's friends and the procedure with the candles, the flowers and the 5 minute silence, we believe that in such moments we should shout and attack and not be silent and negotiating. Finally we cannot not comment the fact that when the killing of the referee happened in almere just before the media gave huge publicity to the event by emphasizing the value of human life and by reprobating the teenagers who did it, while they didn't find anything to say about the life of the teenager that was taken without a single reason by the cop.

Human life has the same value, no matter age, nationality, sex or colour; no matter how they try to steal from us every single sign of consciousness we will be here to remind them that it's a lost battle for them. We will be here to scream for whoever is silent and remind things to whoever is forgetting.

Squatting and anarchism

It seemed easy enough at first: write a piece about squatting and anarchism. It turned out to be harder than I thought. I didn't mean to write such an opinionated piece of text, but my own experiences and ideas inspired me much more for this than something so general that most people would anyway agree with it. I hope to at least make it clear why in my opinion squatting and anarchism are inseparably linked. Even though the amount of criticism I have surprised me at some point, I hope this text will incite discussion, and even better: action.

by P.E.S.T. kop

Since the squatting ban, and I think also in the build-up to it, we've been so busy with the "right to squat" that we forgot a lot of other things. We involved ourselves in neighbourhood struggles even though we were new in a neighbourhood, but often it seems we just want to show how politically involved we are. But living for free just as political, if not more. We should emphasize on our own, honest reasons to squat. It's those reasons in which we will find the most fruitful collaboration with our neighbours, because we don't patronisingly explain our political game to them, but we actually find each other in a joint struggle.

Even though everybody chanted together that 'law or no law' squatting will continue, and many people feared for their houses and themselves, sometimes to a point of paranoia, we had a hard time adapting to this new situation. Still many squatters don't seem to get used to the situation where you are per definition committing a crime. Too often we seem to search for some sort of approval from society, we try to have a place within society, to the point that we say "yeah we're squatters, but..." The problem is that this often proves to offer a chance to keep your squat for longer. But that the neighbourhood is just against a hotel does not mean we can't fight against the whole of capitalism. I'm surprised when I hear yuppies in Amsterdam being so positive about squatting, because of all the nice spaces we provide for alternative art and culture. When was the last time we made it clear that we don't like them either?

Squatting is an anarchist solution to the housing problem. Not because of the conflict with the law or the cops it leads to, even though that is always the case. Rather because not property but availability and necessity should decide who lives where, and we can shape all this ourselves. While the state and Capital basically always only work against us we organise ourselves and support each other. The only action the state takes, apart from the repression in the form of evictions, is to tolerate some squats because of secondary reasons, which happens to monuments and social spaces occupied by artists. It is this "gedogen" (a dutch word that means tolerating something even though it's illegal) that helps to categorise us into the "good" and the "bad" squatters, the more we try to save our spaces by becoming the "good" squatters the harder it becomes just to squat a house. I don't mean to say we all have to be the same, and if you are a poor artist that needs a space that's reason enough to squat. But we shouldn't try to prove ourselves to society to be worthwhile. Squatting is worthwhile anyway, even if you just want a place for yourself.

Let's not fool ourselves and try to be something we're not. The border between "civil disobedience" and crime shouldn't even bother us. There is a housing shortage, there's vacant houses, so we squat. The fact that beautiful places are born this way is not a way of legitimising but a goal on itself. The fact that a conflict with the state arises from it is the logical consequence, part of the game, and it proves that our wishes do not fit in this system. And that's exactly why even after being declared dead so many times squatting is still relevant, and will stay relevant in the future.

The many faces of anarchism, a night with Alfredo Bonanno

Anarchism has known many different faces. Many of them were seldom seen or named. It will always have many different faces. With all the different faces it will always have as many different thoughts and visions on anarchism and on how to fight against state and capital. That last part is what connects all the different visions. We don't know what an anarchist society will look like, after state and capital have disappeared. Anarchists don't make blueprints, but believe in experimenting, in learning by trying. Of course they lay down conditions onto that society: free of any oppression, non-hierarchical, federalist, voluntary, from beneath, etc. They won't ever be in favor of a true anarchist society because it won't be perfect, just like the current society we are living in; just like human beings their selves who –luckily– aren't perfect either. These conditions are never the less essential if we want to speak of an anarchist society. Most anarchists will probably quickly agree on the conditions. But on how to reach that society, opinions can differ.

by Michael Bikini

Alfredo M. Bonano is one of the many faces, a representative of the so-called insurrectionism, and someone on who lots of stories go about. On Monday the 10th of December he paid a visit to Amsterdam and held a talk for about 40 people. Bonano, an elderly well dressed Italian gentleman, seemed sick. Not because he is suffering from cancer, which is the reason why he got released from a Greek prison where he was in for supposed involvement in a bank robbery, he was visibly in pain because he had slipped a couple of days ago.

Bonano is mentioned as one of the most important theorists of the insurrectionism and with his impressive bibliography, of which a very small part is translated into English and even less into Dutch, that is kind of correct. He spoke for about an hour and a half in Italian. The talk was well translated into English by two comrades, which is why it all took a bit long and inevitably some of his story did not come across fully. Afterwards questions were asked and there was some discussion, accompanied by some awkward silences. There was no applauding at the end of the talk. B. Traven would have said "My work is important, I am not".

The recognizing of the enemy

Bonano announced to speak about "The recognizing of the enemy". He noted that he was counting on speaking for an anarchist audience, so he would not give an introduction or explain some concepts. He came straight to business. Our prior enemy is the state. That is why we have to ask ourselves what the state exactly is. The state is more than a cop with a baton, the diffusion and the recuperation. The state can tell us two things. Or: "Stop or I will hurt you". Or: "Help us, and let's work together". The state is in both of these cases our enemy. In both cases it is our revolutionary right to attack the state. We have to get rid of the idea that there is a good and a bad state. The state is the bad. But is the state always bad? Let's take the concept of "freedom" as an example. Imagine you are chained to a wall. That chain can be long or short. If the chain is short we can't move and are squeezed against the wall. The first thing we think of is that that chain should be longer. So we are actually asking for a better state. Anarchists often have the tendency to keep thinking like that. Actually it is about recuperating our freedom and destroying that chain. Since the state manifested itself so much into our day to day life, this should not be an abstract thing.

Understanding the enemy

We have to destroy the state, but we need courage. We are anarchists and must destroy all forms of oppression. We might fail, but it remains our goal. We don't need to fear that people won't understand us. Don't be a 'good anarchist', like the ones that participate, but don't want to harm the state. The concept of a 'good anarchist' only exists because we fear to be misunderstood or that we are seen as violent extremists. The risk of reasoning like that is that our struggle could be recuperated by political parties. From our anarchist actions the goal of anarchic destruction has to become apparent, and as well show the way that can realize that. But do we know those ways? The state is real and concrete. We can smash it like a glass that scatters into a thousand little pieces. But the state is of course more complex than a glass. How do we confront such a complex thing? First of all by understanding it. We must study the state and figure out how it realizes itself. The state is not abstract. The state is everywhere: in front of our front door, on the sidewalk and in the park. When we are talking about attacking the enemy in our day to day life, try to figure out where the state exactly is. The state is everywhere: at school, at work, on holiday etc. a lot of comrades don't realize this. Is the state present when I walk my dog? Yes it is, even when you walk your dog. Why do we behave like civilized civilians and let our dog shit on the there for meant places. We are civilized and accept this. It is not about denying the rules of our civilized civilization, but we have to reflect on this. And this reflection could mean that we start with the rules for walking dogs, and end up with locking up people in prisons. The logics after all are the same.

Do we have the means to understand our enemy at our disposal? Maybe we don't have the capacity. We are all against the cop with the baton, prisons and other obvious structures. That's the easy part. But the idea of attacking the state always has to be our main objective.

The capitalist margins of our society are always changing. But what do we know of the transformation of state and capital. Is it what the papers, university or economists tell us? Are we aware of all the facets of the capitalist crisis? Thinking that the state is getting weaker is a mistake. Look at the state as a snake changing skin. When we are attacking the always transforming state with our outdated knowledge, this has changed his old skin in to a new one already. Our knowledge will turn out to be useless. That's why we must never wait for the right moment to attack the state. It is always the right moment.

Knowledge and means

What do we need for that? Knowledge and means. Knowledge of our enemy and as far goes for means we have affinity. We must be able to understand our comrades. But we are our prior comrade, so we have to understand ourselves very well and be conscious of our own capacities and limitations. Otherwise we can't find others to work together with. Do we really think that all comrades are capable of such a remorseless self analysis? Or are we condescending towards ourselves? Do we feel pity with ourselves or are we justifying our choices?

It is not about knowing ourselves thoroughly, but this is where affinity starts from. We are doing this investigation because of our attack. And it is essential to start an affinity-group. Affinity can have something to do with love and friendship, but that is not essential. The affinity-group does not need to formalize with membership etc. It is about deciding to take action together. The concept of informality might not be stable, but will exist as long as it is necessary to continue the struggle. It is an important idea because it is harder for the state to comprehend, because an affinity-group is not static and can escape the claws of the state more easily.

The attack

The struggle can take place in many different ways. By a direct attack on the state or by playing a part in the struggle of others, of the exploited for example. The struggle to prevent an eviction for example could take many different shapes. But how do anarchists think that this specific problem might lead to an insurrection? For example by using violence to keep the house. This might create a distance, but we must keep the destruction of the state as our main objective. When we are participating in this struggle, then we are participating in someone else's struggle. But we have the insurrectionalist model at hand. And that is why we are fighting with people that want a house, because we don't want to demand a house from the state. We must keep on clarifying this; otherwise people might think we are social-democrats. In comparable struggles anarchists often don't say they want to destroy the state, being afraid to scare people. But the insurrectionalist project is very easy. The only thing we have to do is to destroy the state. The state can't be used to create change. The twentieth century has proven this.

A small struggle or a partial struggle won't destroy the state. Even though partial struggles are sometimes successful, the anarchists that have participated in them have lost, they haven't reached anything. And that is the beauty of anarchism. If the anarchists during the Spanish civil war had won an important wage, if Machno would have won, if Bakunin would have been able to start an uprising in Leon than they would have become the greatest oppressors. The oppressed can easily become oppressors. And that's why anarchist must always have the revolutionary consciousness to start all over again.

A seven headed monster

Afterwards I spoke to some comrades about everything Bonano had told us. I expected more controversial statements, even though there was a lot of laughter when Bonano was explaining what needs to happen in the first three days after the great insurrection, for example the getting rid of the politicians of tomorrow.

But the most surprising was how differently we interpreted his ideas, statements and examples. For example the one on walking your dog. Was it an example of the always growing state control because we get fined for letting our dog shit on the street? Or was it an example of conditioning, because we take our dog on a leash to a place where it is allowed to shit. And what to think of his plea for the permanent insurrection? Does this mean that we have to attack police stations and destroy all surveillance cameras that we run into 24-7? How literally are we supposed to interpret his statements? Not too literally I hope, otherwise we will all be locked up in prison or on the sofa with a burn-out in no time!

In the end Bonano is a 'normal' anarchist that strives for a society without state and capital, and insurrectionism is just a way to reach that. On such a discussion night it is not about who has the anarchist truth at hand, or the best tactic or form of organizing to fight state and capital. There are more roads that lead to Rome, which is a good thing. The more

the better, and preferably a lot of sneak routes as well. If there would only be one road, it could be easily blocked and we would never reach our destination.

Furthermore, the anarchist movement –especially in the Netherlands- is nothing compared to what it once used to be. We, anarchists with our own individual perceptions and tactics, must not fight each other. There are too few of us and that divides us, which is exactly what the state wants. We are not each other's enemies but each other's companions in the fight against state and capital. Whether we do it in an organized way, with formal organizations, or in affinity-groups, occasional coalitions or secret alliances. Or whether we are busy with organizing workers on the shop floor or want to destroy everything work related. Whether we are busy with animal rights or gay rights, partial struggle or complete struggle. Whether we organize within the Vrije bond (Free Union) or in the ASB (anarcho-syndicalist union), join or not join the IFA. Whether we only talk and discuss, inform and propagate or throw stones and set fire. Whether we only want to destroy or construct as well...

What it is all about is that we are all anarchists that strive for abolition of state and capital. Where necessary, when it is possible and when we feel like it we can work together. By discussing with each other we can learn from each other. Just like formal organizations bring along pro's and con's, affinity-groups do as well. Critique and discussion make sure we remain sharp and keep on thinking about which ways and strategies we choose. The one tactic does not need to exclude the other, unless the tactic is counterproductive or not in agreement with our goals. Anarchism has always had many faces and will always have. Let it be a seven-head-monster that fights the state in all possible ways. And when two heads are asleep or resting, the other five are continuing the fight. That is how we together will always have a permanent insurrection.

Zwart Behang, anarchist wall/newspaper

Solidarity with the resistance, Solidarity with Villa Amalias and all anarchist spaces under threat

The economical and social situation in Greece has exploded in the last few years. The economy collapsed, with as the main result a very tough life for the inhabitants. Life is difficult, as people get kicked out of their homes, electricity gets cut off and people lose their shitty jobs. European economic forces interfered in the situation, demanding everything - but the loans go mainly to the banks, to save their asses, and to law enforcement.

The money spend on thousands of new cops and 'safety' measures, is and will be in the interest of a terrible system and the rich only, because they only exist, to protect them. In Greece though, there are lots of people taking to the streets, demanding back their lives and dignity. This means more stress for the state, but also that people actually can take a look at alternatives. Like in the squats, free spaces where people organize for themselves, independent of loans and control. The state cannot accept this, as it understands the threat that goes out of the whole existence of these places and movements.

For example squatters are used to organize peoples kitchens (free food on the streets), where people share the concept of preparing food and then eating all together. This concept was copied in 2011 by neighborhood collectives, but quickly got forbidden by the state. Also homeless people took over the idea of occupying a place, to have a roof over their heads- but soon got evicted as the state tolerates no competition. In the last years dozens of people died in the streets from the cold.

The state decided once more, and again more repressively, to attack. It started evicting anarchist social spaces. The cops declared they want to evict 40 of those squats in the coming period of time. They have been arresting the people who were inside or in solidarity on the streets. It is a clear strategically decision by the cops, because like this the people have a hard time continuing their projects. When people are forced to spend their time with defending their social spaces and face juridical consequences, there is less time to organize free food for victims of state and capital, for printing spaces and radio channels broadcasting about social struggle.

It was also a strategically decision as the first evicted squats are at the border between fascist and anti-fascist neighborhoods. The fascist party Golden Dawn increased in numbers over the last years, since the state blames the immigrants for the problems the country is facing. This results in confrontations in the streets, where the fascists get assisted by the police. The squats offered a physical barrier against the pogroms, beatings and stabbings of the neo-nazis against immigrants. These evictions happen in the moment where the people need to be on the streets, fighting the neo-nazis of Golden Dawn and all the state forces that are keeping the people down.

Now, we are here distributing this text about our comrades in Greece, because we believe it is not a story on it's own. The 'financial crisis' hits everywhere, even though here in Holland the social security is still relatively high and the social tension has a different context. The same attack of the state against the people can be seen, in the growth of repression, in the unequal spreading of welfare. We feel one with the people that take to the streets in Greece, Europe and the whole wide world. Because we have to fight our masters, in order to life free- because the more they try to break our collective sense, the more it's needed for individuals to come together and organize themselves, opposing the economical and repressive forces. Solidarity and action!